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LIBRARY RESOURCES AND CREATIVE WRITING AT ROME[1]

ANTHONY J. MARSHALL

THE RENEWAL OF INTEREST in the social setting of literary production in the later Republic and Early Empire promises both to be a fruitful development and to avoid the excesses of the older biographical approach. One of the important border areas which remain to be explored between the traditional preserves of literature and history covers the relation between libraries and creative writing at Rome. For books not only served as a general cultural catalyst in Roman society but were also seen as a necessary tool for writers. This is most obviously true of the school of poets whose models derived from that learned Alexandrianism with its literary modes which resulted from a productive relationship between the great Museum library and the interplay of criticism and composition among its scholarly devotees. Callimachus had classified literary genres in his canonical one hundred and twenty volume *Pinakes*, and the Museum, although derisively dubbed "birdcage of the Muses" by Timon of Phlius, had wedded learning and creative writing with a new and close bond.[2] The Latin poets who coveted the title *doctus* and clearly wrote for an educated audience required access to a collection of carefully established Greek texts, and Neoterics would take to heart Callimachus' rule "I sing nothing which is not attested."[3] The paradigm Catullus obliquely informs us that his library in Rome ran to *multae capsulae* which he needed for composition.[4] Martial boasted a library of more than

[1]An earlier version of this paper was read before the annual meeting of the Classical Association of Canada at Edmonton in June, 1975. I wish to thank my colleague Dr R. S. Kilpatrick for his helpful criticism.

[2]For the Πίνακες see Diog.Laert. 8.86; Ath. 6.244a, 13.585b; *Suda*: Καλλίμαχος. Cf. F. Schmidt, *Die Pinakes des Kallimachos* (Berlin 1922); F. J. Witty, "The Pinakes of Callimachus," *Library Quarterly* 28 (1958) 132–136; P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) 1.452 f., 780f. For the Μουσέων τάλαρος, see Ath. 1.22d. Cf. J. A. Davison, "Literature and Literacy in Ancient Greece: Caging the Muses," *Phoenix* 16 (1962) 219–233, esp. 227 f. For the Museum and Alexandrian scholarship generally, see Th.Birt, *Das Antike Buchwesen* (Berlin 1882) 485f.; Dziatzko, "Bibliotheken," *RE* 3 (1899) 409 f.; Müller-Graupa, "Museion," *RE* 16 C (1933) 801–821; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford 1941) 1084 f.; E. A. Parsons, *The Alexandrian Library* (London 1952) 204 f.; L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars* (Oxford 1968) 6 f.; R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford 1968) 96 f.; Fraser, *op.cit.* 1.305f., 447f.

[3]Callim. fr. 612, ἀμάρτυρον οὐδὲν ἀείδω. Cf. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (above, note 2) 1.657.

[4]Catullus, *Carm.* 68.36, *huc una ex multis capsula me sequitur.*

one hundred and twenty rolls, the collection of Persius contained an impressive seven hundred volumes of Chrysippus, while even Eumolpus saw the need for a deluge of books to fertilize the mind.[5]

The basic question which presents itself for answer is whether books in bulk, true library collections, were readily accessible. Certainly, to assemble one from scratch would have been expensive and far from easy. It is true that commercial book production was established in Rome by the early first century B.C. and that by Pliny's day bookstores could be found far afield in the provinces, remote from the central markets of the Argiletum and the Vicus Tuscus.[6] Moreover, a sturdy book might last a hundred years or more with careful handling, and Romans came to know the dusty delights of second hand bookshops.[7] But we hear much complaint about the inaccuracies and deficiencies of commercial copies, which were often carelessly prepared and not properly checked against the original before sale. In particular, Strabo indicates the difficulty of assembling a reference collection when he warns that Roman shops were flooded with worthless editions which were replete with errors.[8] Equally ominous are the complaints voiced by Cicero in 54 B.C. while trying to build a library of good Latin texts in Rome. His problems arose also from unreliable production, since he grumbles *ita mendose et scribuntur et veneunt*. In his hunt for the good texts which he needed as reference ma-

[5]Martial, *Ep.* 14.190; (?) Suet. *Vita Auli Persi Flacci* 1, with W. Clausen (Ed.), *A. Persi Flacci Saturarum Liber* (Oxford 1956) xxv. For Eumolpus, see Petron. *Sat.* 118.3, *neque concipere aut edere partum mens potest nisi ingentiflumine litterarum inundata.* Cf. Horace, *Epist.* 1.18.109, where the poet prays for *bona librorum* as a condition of happiness. Pliny the Elder (*HN* Praef. 17) needed some two thousand volumes from which to cull his material.

[6]For the book trade in Italy and the provinces, see Birt, *Antike Buchwesen* (above, note 2) 356 f., also *Kritik und Hermeneutik nebst Abriss des Antiken Buchwesens* (Munich 1913) 310 f.; L. Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire* 3 (1909) 36 f.; 4 (1913) 645 → F. Reichmann, "The Book Trade at the Time of the Roman Empire," *Library Quarterly* 8 (1938) 40–76; J. W. Thompson, *Ancient Libraries* (Berkeley 1940) 87 f.; H. L. Pinner, *The World of Books in Classical Antiquity*[2] (Leiden 1958) 33 f., 46 f. The main literary evidence for provincial sales is to be found in Pliny, *Ep.* 9.11.2; Martial, *Ep.* 7.88; Horace, *Carm.* 2.20.13 f.; *Ars Poet.* 345; Ovid, *Trist.* 4.9.21; 4.10.128; Pliny, *HN* 35.2.11; Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* 9.7.1.

[7]For the durability of quality books, see Pliny, *HN* 13.26.83 f.; Quint. *Inst. Or.* 9.4.39. Cf. Birt, *Antike Buchwesen* 364 f., *Kritik und Hermeneutik* 323. For the threats to books' longevity, cf. Horace, *Epist.* 1.20.12. For the used book market, see Aul. Gell. *NA* 2.3.5; 5.4.1; 16.8.2; 18.1.11; Lucian, *Adv. Indoct.* 102. Cf. Pinner (above, note 6) 13 f. Entrepreneurs such as Atticus might offer whole libraries for sale (Cicero, *Att.* 1.4.3; 1.7; 1.10.4; 1.11.3).

[8]Strabo 13.1.54; 50.13.419. Cf. Martial, *Ep.* 2.8; Lucian, *Adv. Indoct.* 1; Reynolds and Wilson (above, note 2) 24. Lack of copyright was partly to blame (cf. Gaius, *Inst.* 2.73, 77). See Pinner (above, note 6) 38 f., for ancient authors' complaints about plagiarism and forgery.

terial for his own writing, Cicero had to make energetic use of friends and agents.[9]

It is true that the copying of borrowed books was a common expedient for those who wished to enrich private collections. Cicero, while lamenting that he cannot find sound copies for Quintus' library, says that he needs a skilled copyist to fill the gaps.[10] But the rub is in the qualification "skilled." Private copying could itself notoriously proliferate more botched texts, and the prices fetched by skilled copy slaves or *servi litterati* were high indeed.[11] Seneca values an efficient model of this ancient equivalent of the xerox machine at one hundred thousand sesterces, and they were generally highly priced.[12] Wealthy nobles such as Crassus could train their own copyists and library slaves, but this required an existing establishment of skilled slaves to instruct apprentices.[13] Even so, the problem would remain of obtaining an authentic text worth putting into the hands of the copyist. When the Octavian library was destroyed by fire, Domitian sent his skilled copyists to Alexandria itself for replacements.[14] We hear also of one mistrustful bibliophile who brought a grammaticus to a bookstore in order to check the authenticity of a text offered for sale.[15] But some authentic texts might not even be for sale. One scholar rented an edition of Ennius at great expense to check a reading because it contained the original emendations of Gaius Octavius Lampadio.[16]

There was another, more obvious problem to be faced by Romans who coveted libraries. Then as now, the assembling of a working library represented a sizable cash investment. Cicero rated his library in 46 B.C. at *multorum nummorum*, a claim amusingly borne out by the success of his runaway library slave Dionysius who absconded with a number of expen-

[9]Cicero, *Q.Fr.* 3.5.6; *Att.* 1.7; 13.32.2. Cf. *Q.Fr.* 3.4.5, *neque enim venalia sunt quae quidem placeant, et confici nisi per hominem et peritum et diligentem non possunt.*

[10]*Q.Fr.* 3.4.5 (cited above, note 9). Cf. *Att.* 2.20.6, *describo et remitto.*

[11]For the hazards of transmission by private copying, see Cicero, *Att.* 12.6a.1; 13.21.3; 13.21a; 13.22.3; 13.23.2; Martial, *Ep.* 2.8.3–4; 7.11. Cf. Pinner (above, note 6) 31 f., who suggests that Latin books were more vulnerable to poor copying since copyists were Greek.

[12]Seneca, *Ep.* 27.6f. Cf. Horace, *Epist.* 2.2.5–8; *Cod.Just.* 6.43.3.1.

[13]Plut. *Crass.* 2, with S. L. Mohler, "Slave Education in the Roman Empire," *TAPA* 71 (1940) 262–280; H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (London and N.Y. 1956) 266. Cf. Nepos, *Vit. Att.* 13.3.

[14]Suet. *Dom.* 20. For the library, see below, note 56.

[15]Aul.Gell. *NA* 5.4.2.

[16]Aul.Gell. *NA* 18.5.11. For the lucrative production of faked "old" or "rare" books by unscrupulous dealers to meet the demand created by the shortage of good, early texts, see Dio Chrys. *Or.* 21.12, with Pinner (above, note 6) 48; J. E. G. Zetzel, "*Emendavi Ad Tironem*: Some Notes on Scholarship in the Second Century A.D.," *HSCP* 77 (1973) 225–243, esp. 239 f. Zetzel (241) suspects that Lampadio's *Ennius* was itself a forgery.

sive volumes. This enterprising amanuensis may well have financed his escape via Dalmatia by selling off a trail of prized items from Cicero's collection.[17] Few collectors could hope for such windfalls as the entire library from Greece which Cicero was able to acquire in 60 B.C. as a gift from a grateful client and ship to Rome.[18] Pliny the Younger, not untypically, tells us that the library which he gave to Comum cost one million sesterces, a senator's entire census, and maintenance costs for this library called for a further one hundred thousand.[19] The hapless Codrus, Juvenal's starveling intellectual who treasured his pitiful few books and guarded them from *opici mures*, could hardly expect to command a personal reference library.[20]

We discover with painful clarity what was the fate of a writer cut off from access to an adequate library when we turn to Ovid's famous case. Poor Ovid's productivity did not suffer in Tomis only from low spirits, failing health, and the absence of any stimulating audience or circle of literary friends. He explicitly laments the damage done by the lack of books.

> *Non hic librorum per quos inviter alarque*
> *copia . . .*

His personal library had to be left in Rome, and his work grows introspective and autobiographical.[21] In particular, he regrets that he is unable to put the *ultima lima* and *summa manus* to the *Metamorphoses*, unfinished by the fateful year A.D. 8.[22] Catullus, writing more comfortably in Verona, informs Mallius that he cannot oblige him with poetry since he has brought only one *capsula* of books with him from his Roman collection.[23] By contrast, Horace might lug with him to the country Plato, Menander, Eupolis, and Archilochus as inspiration for satire and then

[17]Cic.*Fam.* 13.77.3.

[18]Cic.*Att.* 1.20.7; 2.1.12. Note Cicero's anxious concern for the safe arrival of these books and his statement that he has urgent need of them. For the transmission of libraries by legacy, see Paulus, *Sent.* 3.6.51; Ulpian, *Digest* 32.52; (?) Suet. *Vita Auli Persi Flacci* 1. Cf. Dziatzko, *RE* 3 (above, note 2) 417.

[19]Pliny, *Ep.* 1.8.2; *CIL* 5.5262 (= *ILS* 2927), with A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny* (Oxford 1966) 103, 732. See Thompson (above, note 6) 86, for the library given to Timgad which cost 400,000 sesterces. It is significant that Varro's valuable library was looted in the proscriptions (Aul.Gell. *NA* 3.10.17). For highly priced collectors' pieces, see Suet. *De Gramm.* 8 (16,000 sesterces); Pliny, *Ep.* 3.5.17 (400,000). Cf. Pinner, (above, note 6) 37 f.; Birt (above, note 2) 209, 356; (above, note 6) 322 f.

[20]Juvenal, *Sat.* 3.206 f.

[21]*Tristia* 1.1.105 f.; 1.7.19 f.; 3.14.37 f.; *Ex Ponto* 4.2.29 f. Cf. L. P. Wilkinson, *Ovid Recalled* (Cambridge 1955) 324. Propertius, by contrast, is confident (2.13.25 f.) that he can take his own *tres libelli* with him even to Hades.

[22]*Tristia* 1.7.14, 22, 27–30.

[23]*Carm.* 68.31 f.

find only energy lacking.[24] Cicero merits less pity than Ovid when found in the quasi exile of his Cilician governorship solacing himself with the bracing and, one suspects, flattering *Cyropaedia*.[25]

Another aspect of this subject which calls for investigation is the relation between book collecting and patronage. By the later Republic, great private collections, running to both Greek and Latin works, were to be found in the houses of the wealthy.[26] But even when these libraries were opened freely to friends, the use made of them by Roman visitors who were themselves wealthy collectors indicates in itself that they contained books which were not readily available elsewhere and not duplicated even in the holdings of a Cicero or a Cato. A prime example is provided by Lucullus, whose villa at Tusculum boasted a fine library which had come into his hands as booty from the Mithridatic War.[27] This was no show library serving for mere ostentation of the kind which Lucian castigates as providing a safe haven for moths and mice.[28] Undoubtedly some wealthy Romans may have bought up books in "proper assortments" for display, in the crass tradition of buying volumes by colour and footage which is maintained in the modern world by furniture stores and pretentious restaurants. Predictably, this "books for looks" mania attracted Seneca's scorn, and Juvenal derides the value set by Roman snobs on the display of selected titles in one's bookcase.[29] No such charge could be levelled at Lucullus, since his was a working library especially rich in Greek philosophy and the extent of his collection was well matched by that of his own intellectual interests. Lucullus deserves to be remembered as more than the father of the European cherry.[30]

At his own Tusculan villa, Cicero wrote his *Tusculan Disputations*, the *De Oratore*, and the *Orator*. He kept a good library there, an arrangement consonant with the general Roman view that libraries formed a pleasant adjunct to the leisure of villa life.[31] In patriotic euphoria Cicero might

[24]*Serm.* 2.3.11 f.

[25]*Fam.* 9.25.1. Cf. *Q.Fr.* 1.1.23. For Alexander's lead in the fashion for bedside reading on campaign, see Plut. *Alex.* 8.

[26]See, e.g., above, notes 9, 10, and 17.

[27]Plut. *Luc.* 42; Isid. *Etym.* 6.5.1. Cf. Pliny, *HN* 25.3.6–7; J. Van Ooteghem, *Lucius Licinius Lucullus* (Brussels 1959) 184 f.

[28]*Adv. Indoct.* passim.

[29]Seneca, *De Tranq. Anim.* 9.7; *Ep.* 27.6; *Dial.* 9.9.6; Juvenal, *Sat.* 2.4–7. Cf. Pliny, *HN* 35.4.9; Ausonius, *Epigr.* 7. For Trimalchio's amusing boast about his library, see Petron. *Sat.* 48.

[30]See esp. Cicero, *Acad. Priora* 1.1 f. For the cherry, see Van Ooteghem, *Lucullus* (above, note 27) 194.

[31]For Cicero's Tusculan library, see *De Div.* 2.8; *Topica* 1.1. Cf. *Att.* 2.6.1 (Antium); *De Leg.* 2.1 (Arpinum). Cf. F. L. Meyer, *Cicero und die Bücher* (Diss. Zurich 1955) 15 f.; Cicero, *De Fin.* 2.7; Martial, *Ep.* 7.17.1; Seneca, *Dial.* 9.9.4; *De Tranq. Anim.* 9.7; Thompson (above, note 6) 34 f. Each of the villas of Italicus contained a library (Pliny,

launch his mot about the *Twelve Tables* being worth all the philosophical libraries put together and claim that Romans would not need Greek libraries stuffed with tomes once philosophy had been successfully transplanted to Latin soil. But elsewhere he directly tells us that his own philosophical writing was done in his personal libraries and was very much dependent on the availability of books.[32] Even so, he found it worth his while to ride over from his Tusculan villa to consult in the great library of Lucullus holdings which his own collection presumably did not run to, and there he also found Marcus Cato glutting his notorious appetite for Stoic writing.[33] Cicero and Cato were privileged to have such access, since it seems probable that Lucullus' library was not "public" in any real sense and that an invitation to use its resources presupposed a social connection as an *amicus* or *cliens*. In the same way Cicero, as an *amicus* of Atticus, was able to borrow from him books which he needed for his writing and to copy some of them before returning the original.[34] In particular, while working on the *Republic* he needed and obtained access to Atticus' library in Rome.[35]

There is another dimension to the working Roman library. Plutarch supplies the significant information that the library of Lucullus attracted to its galleries and study rooms a number of Greek scholars. It thus became a veritable temple of the Muses for Greek visitors to Rome, Archias doubtless included, and a centre for discussion among the scholars who made their Lucullan banquets upon his books.[36] Beginning with the Alexandrian foundation, it has always been true that great libraries attract scholars and act as a magnet for talent. Roman libraries, by providing suitable foci for international literary circles, also won prestige for the hospitable Roman patrons who owned them. To describe the transfer as neutrally as possible, great Greek collections moved west with the returning Roman armies and lured scholars and writers west with them.[37] The senior librarians included among these scholars and the

Ep. 3.7.8), and the studious Pliny installed a bookcase for selected favourites in a *cubiculum* at his Laurentine villa (*Ep.* 2.17.8). For private libraries generally, see Birt (above, note 2) 360 f.

[32]*De Orat.* 1.44.195; *Tusc.* 2.2.6; *Fam.* 7.28.2.

[33]*De Fin.* 3.2.7–8.

[34]*Att.* 2.4.1; 2.20.6; 8.11.7; 13.8; 13.31.2; 13.32.2; 13.33.2.

[35]*Att.* 4.14.1. Cf. Meyer (above, note 31) 16 f.

[36]Plut. *Luc.* 42.1–2. For Lucullus as patron, see D. M. Schullian, *External Stimuli to Literary Production in Rome 90 B.C.—27 B.C.* (Diss. Chicago 1931) 133 f. For Archias' connection with Lucullus, see Cicero, *Att.* 1.16.15; *Arch.* 3.5.

[37]For a useful list of Greek scholars who visited Rome in this period see A. Hillscher, *Hominum litteratorum Graecorum ante Tiberii mortem in urbe Roma commoratorum historia critica*, *Neue Jahrb. f. class. Philol. und Paed.*, Suppl. Bd. 18 (1892) 355–440. Philodemus of Gadara may have been attracted into Piso's patronage by the villa library at Herculaneum, where some 1800 rolls have been discovered. See H. Bloch, "L. Calpurnius Piso

subordinate staff who presumably arrived willynilly with the crated books would be a culturally productive presence in Roman society. Marcus Cato took back to Rome with him the chief librarian of Pergamum even though the library itself escaped for the moment.[38] It is, however, a remarkable fact that scholars who have discussed the importance of these learned émigrés have barely glanced at the question of the westward transplantation of the great Greek libraries.[39]

One of the most fruitful bulk importations of Greek working libraries was undoubtedly that of the royal Macedonian library, last owned by King Perseus and turned by his conqueror L. Aemilius Paullus into the first great private collection in Roman hands.[40] Paullus did not loot these books merely for ostentation and prestige, since they were used to educate his sons. After his death in 160 B.C. the collection most probably remained intact and at the disposal of Scipio Aemilianus.[41] It is surely beyond doubt that the availability of this magnificent library must have provided a major attraction for the Scipionic Circle and formed an important factor in its prestige and durability. Polybius himself first got to know Scipio intimately through the loan of some books.[42] Yet D. M. Schullian's work barely touches upon the subject of this library, which also receives a scant ten lines in R. M. Brown's *A Study of the Scipionic Circle*. The most surprising discovery is that it is not even mentioned in A. E. Astin's authoritative discussion of the Circle in his *Scipio Aemilianus*.[43]

Caesoninus in Samothrace and Herculaneum," *AJA* 44 (1940) 485–493; Schullian (above, note 36) 30–41; F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*[2] (Oxford 1951) 83 f.; R. G. M. Nisbet (Ed.), *In L. Calpurnium Pisonem Oratio* (Oxford 1961) 186 f.

[38]Plut. *Cat.Min.* 16; cf. Strabo 14.5.14. For the Pergamene library, granted by Marc Antony to Cleopatra by a gift criticized in Rome, see Plut. *Ant.* 58.9. Cf. Dziatzko, *RE* 3 (above, note 2) 414 f.; Parsons (above, note 2) 19 f.; J. Platthy, *Sources on the Earliest Greek Libraries* (Amsterdam 1968) 159 f. Fraser (above, note 2) 2.494 note 229, urges caution in interpreting Plutarch's evidence. Cf. also Pfeiffer (above, note 2) 235 f.; F. Grayeff, *Aristotle and his School* (London 1974) 71 f.

[39]See, e.g., Schullian (above, note 36) 133 f.

[40]Plut. *Aem.Paull.* 6.5; 28.6 f.; Isid. *Etym.* 6.5.1. Cf. Platthy (above, note 38) 140. For the Roman view of their rights over such plundered books, → I. Shatzman, "The Roman General's Authority over Booty," *Historia* 21 (1972) 177–205, at 195, 203.

[41]Plut. *loc. cit.* (above, note 40). The disposal of the library would not be affected by Scipio's refusal of his half of the inheritance from Paullus (Polyb. 31.28.1–3) if Plutarch is right in stating that the books were originally given directly to the sons of Paullus as their share of the Macedonian booty. It seems improbable that Scipio and his eldest brother Q. Fabius Maximus, the only other surviving son at Paullus' death, would have physically split up the collection. Cf. Plut. *Pomp.* 4.1 for Pompeius Strabo's gift to his son of books from the booty of Asculum.

[42]Polyb. 31.23.4.

[43]See R. M. Brown, *A Study of the Scipionic Circle* (Iowa 1934) 37; A. E. Astin, *Scipio*

Another celebrated collection which reached Rome from the Greek world as booty and there became a cultural catalyst was the library of Aristotle and Theophrastus, which contained the so-called 'acroatic' works of Aristotle. After the vagaries of its supposed transmission via Scepsis on the Scamander, where Apellicon of Teos is said to have bought it from the heirs of Neleus and shipped it back to Athens, Sulla brought this library to Rome from the sack of Athens in 86 B.C.[44] It is quite possible that Cicero in his turn bought up this unique collection from the Dictator's son Faustus when the latter fell into financial trouble and was forced to sell it. Cicero read voraciously in it, apparently keeping it in the villa at Cumae where he wrote part of the *Republic* and of the *Academica*.[45] The availability of this library would not only facilitate Cicero's scholarly work but would also enrich his intellectual life by attracting distinguished Greeks. The eminent grammarian and critic from Amisus, nicknamed Tyrannio, is to be numbered among these scholars.[46] Tyrannio

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Aemilianus (Oxford 1967) Appendix 6 (cf. the fleeting reference earlier on p. 15). For Schullian, see above, note 39. But for doubt as to the historicity of the circle, see now J. E. G. Zetzel, "Cicero and the Scipionic Circle," *HSCP* 76 (1972) 173–179.

[44]See Strabo 13.1.54; 13.4.2; Ath. 1.3 a–b; 5.214 d–e; Plut.*Sull.* 26.1; Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 95.3; Lucian, *Adv. Indoct.* 4. Cf. Thompson (above, note 6) 28 f; C. Wendel, "Tyrannion," *RE* 7 A 2 (1948) 1811 f.; E. Ruschenbusch, "ΣΟΛΩΝΟΣ NOMOI," (*Historia* Einzelschriften 9, 1966) 42 note 108; Platthy (above, note 38) 125 f. If we allow any weight to the divergent account of Athenaeus, some lesser part of the collection may have gone to Alexandria. But controversy surrounds this episode. Fraser (above, note 2) 2.473 note 100, rejects attempts to reconcile Athenaeus with Strabo and dismisses his account as a misunderstanding of the latter. A. H. Chroust, in his somewhat speculative paper "The Miraculous Disappearance and Recovery of the Corpus Aristotelicum," *Class. et Med.* 23 (1962) 50–67, condemns Strabo's version (62) as being in part "a planned and clever fabrication" devised to explain the decline of the Peripatus and to enhance the authority of Andronicus' edition of Aristotle. D. C. Earl, "Prologue-Form in Ancient Historiography," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, Ed. H. Temporini, 1.2 (Berlin and N.Y. 1972) 842–856, at 851, also doubts the Scepsis interlude as being a "highly suspicious story." For evaluation of Strabo's story, see further J. P. Lynch, *Aristotle's School: A Study of a Greek Educational Institution* (Berkeley 1972) 147 f. Cf. Pfeiffer (above, note 2) 67; Grayeff (above, note 38) 74 f.

[45]See Cicero, *Att.* 4.10.1 (Cumae, 55 B.C.), *Ego hic pascor bibliotheca Fausti*, where the context implies that Cicero had the books in his own *Cumanum* and was not just visiting some villa of Faustus. See also *Att.* 9.11.4; 12.40.2; Plut. *Cic.* 27; *Sull.* 26. C. Trebatius Testa inspired Cicero's translation of Aristotle's *Topica* by complaining about the obscurity of the original which he tackled in Cicero's Tusculan library (*Fam.* 7.19; *Top.* 1.1–5). Cicero later gave the name "Lycium" to a gymnasium at his *Tusculanum* which contained a library (*Div.* 1.5.8; 2.3.8; cf. *Tusc.* 2.3.9). Meyer (above, note 31) 56 f., surprisingly omits all mention of Cicero's possible acquisition of this library. The possibility is also ignored by Schullian (above, note 36) 135 f., Earl (above, note 44) 851, and Grayeff (above, note 38) 75 f.

[46]For Tyrannio's work, see Plut. *Sull.* 26.1–2; *Luc.* 19.8–9; Strabo 13.3.16. Cf. Hillscher (above, note 37) 374 f.; Pfeiffer (above, note 2) 272 f.; S. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*

had held classes in Cicero's house in 56 B.C., pleasing him with the impression made upon his nephew.[47] But a more enduring achievement was Tyrannio's careful copying of the works in Cicero's freshly acquired library. Andronicus, head of the Peripatetic school in Rhodes, was able to base a new edition upon this work.[48]

For all the rancour of Lucian's complaints about philistine Roman patrons and their venal Greek protégés, resident Greek scholars were no mere ornaments in the cultural life of Rome.[49] Indeed, some of their contributions could be very practical. For example, Cicero's villa at Antium, where he kept a library of whose *festiva copia* he had earlier boasted, suffered sad damage during his exile.[50] But after his return, we find in the letters to Atticus a series of delighted reports on the progress of the restoration of this library by Tyrannio, who was aided by three expert freedmen (*librarioli glutinatores*) loaned for the purpose by Atticus.[51] The faithful Tiro, freely admitted by Cicero to be vital to his writing, must also have worked regularly in his master's libraries.[52] Another devotee of these collections will have been Pomponius Dionysius, who was of great help to Cicero as critic and literary aide despite the cultural clash of their mutual incomprehension over Roman ethics.[53] Apart from his role as host

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during the Late Republic (Oxford 1969) 114, 116, 125; Grayeff (above, note 38) 75 f. Ruschenbusch (above, note 44) accepts 55 B.C. as the probable year of Tyrannio's work on the corpus (41). Earl (above, note 44) maintains that Cicero himself did not bother to read the Aristotelian collection, explaining (854) that "grubbing about in bookstacks after dusty manuscripts was no activity for a scholar who was also a Roman gentleman." Such fastidiousness is sheer fantasy and would hardly prove a deterrent to exploration of so priceless a collection. Earl's theory does not explain *Att.* 4.10.1 (quoted above, note 45), where the context implies that Cicero was eagerly occupied with the books, however dusty. Grayeff, *op. cit.* 75 f., holds that Cicero's written work displayed a progressively better knowledge of the Aristotelian corpus after he had gained access to it.

[47]Cicero, *Q.Fr.* 2.4.2 (apparently in Rome). For Tyrannio's lectures, attended by Strabo, see Strabo 12.3.16.

[48]Plut. *Sull.* 26.1–2. Earl (above, note 44) 855 argues that Andronicus' work directly influenced Sallust. Chroust (above, note 44) 53 and 63 is highly critical of Tyrannio's work and piles conjecture upon conjecture with his theory that Andronicus manipulated the reappearance of the books in order to advance his own professional standing with the Peripatetic movement. Cf. Grayeff (above, note 38) 77 f.

[49]See Lucian, *De Mercede Conductis.* Cf. A. N. Sherwin-White, *Racial Prejudice in Imperial Rome* (Cambridge 1967) 66 f.

[50]Cicero, *Att.* 2.6.1; 4.4a.1. Cf. Meyer (above, note 31) 54.

[51]*Att.* 4.4a; 4.5.4; 4.8.2; 5.3.3; Nepos, *Att.* 13.3.–4.

[52]Cicero, *Fam.* 16.4.3; 16.10.2; 16.14.1; 16.17.1; 16.20; 16.22.1 (which reveals that Tiro even interpreted Cicero's handwriting to his *librarii*). For Cicero's employment in his literary work of learned and skilled freedmen, see Treggiari (above, note 46) 76 f., 114 note 10, 116, 125, 252 f., 259 f., also, "The Freedmen of Cicero," *G & R* 16 (1969) 195–2 → R. J. Rowland, "Cicero and the Greek World," *TAPA* 103 (1972) 451–461.

[53]Cicero, *Att.* 5.9.3; 6.2.3; 7.18.3; 10.16.1. Cf. Hillscher (above, note 37) 372.

to distinguished Greek scholars, some of whom, like Diodotus, were resident under his roof for years, what we know of Cicero the bibliophile fits well with the evidence that he was also a patron to Latin poets.[54] Surely the presence in Rome of groups of resident Greek intellectuals represents an important substratum of the developing Latin culture which such poets inherited. And it was Rome, rather than the Lyceum, which now had the library resources to attract them, thanks to the disastrous choice of Strato of Lampsacus as Scholarch in Athens and the subsequent launching of Aristotle's library on its own peripatetic course.[55]

One final development in Roman book collecting calls for notice, a development which affected the milieu of the writer to an incalculable degree. When the great imperial libraries came to be established under their procurators, notably the collection established in 33 B.C. in the *Porticus Octaviae* and the larger Palatine library attached to the temple of Apollo some five years later, their holdings could now be used to indicate a formative favour or displeasure toward living writers.[56] It is true that Augustus was no Ptolemy setting up a complete residential "institute" to house scholars on a stipend.[57] In opening his libraries to readers he was following the lead already given by Asinius Pollio, who had established a similarly open library in the *Atrium Libertatis* after his Illyrian triumph of October 39 B.C.[58] Here, as in other important areas of his rule, Augustus was simply acting as a Republican *patronus* writ large. But the new imperial libraries, although housed in state buildings, were not so much Carnegie-style institutions, "public" in the modern sense, as the Emperor's libraries generously thrown open to his *amici* and urban *clientes* as a form of patronage. This patronage was in the tradition of Lucullus but the scale was far grander.[59] There was, more-

[54]For Cicero as patron, see Pliny, *Ep.* 3.15.1; Schol. Bob. *Pro Sest.* 58.123 (p. 137 Stangl). For Diodotus, see Cicero, *Tusc.* 5.39.113; *Acad.* 2.36.115; *Brut.* 90.309; *Fam.* 13.16.4; *Att.* 2.20.6.

[55]For Strato, see Lynch (above, note 44) 139. Cf. Chroust (above, note 44) 50 f.

[56]For the Augustan libraries, which contained poetry and prose works in both languages, see J. W. Clark, *The Care of Books* (London 1909) 12 f.; Birt (above, note 6) 335 f.; C. E. Boyd, *Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome* (Chicago 1915) 5 f., 32 f. For the separate Greek and Latin holdings, see *CIL* 6.[2] 4431, 4433, 4435. For the precedent of the supposed unfulfilled plan of Julius Caesar to establish a great library, see Suet. *Iul.* 44.2 Cf. Dziatzko, *RE* 3 (above, note 2) 418. By the fourth century of our era there were twenty eight such foundations in Rome (Boyd, *op. cit.* 3).

[57]For the organization of the Alexandrian scholars and the Museum, see Fraser (above, note 2) 1.316 f.

[58]For Pollio's library, see Boyd (above, note 56) 3 f., 31; J. André, *La Vie et l'Oeuvre d'Asinius Pollion* (Paris 1949) 23, 116 f. These books can hardly have been spoils from the Parthini, and presumably it was the *Atrium Libertatis* itself which was built or more probably restored from the proceeds of the booty. Cf. Shatzman (above, note 40) 185.

[59]For Augustus as patron of letters, see Suet. *Aug.* 89. Endowment, continued financ-

over, clearly a prestige motive in the foundation of these great collections, and it is significant that even Domitian took pains to tend them.[60] If they contained rare or hitherto dispersed volumes, they would inevitably draw distinguished readers, and since their prestige far outshone that of other collections in the western Empire they would also inevitably become a focus for ambition.

At the outset, a sinister indication of imperial interest and power was given. By a curt letter Augustus himself instructed his chief librarian not to place in the accessible collection some juvenilia of the Divine Julius.[61] The power of gratifying inclusion or damning exclusion thus lay ultimately in the hands of the libraries' proprietor. Inclusion would make one a classic, and Vergil and Livy were admitted into the bookcases with predictable promptness.[62] Others were firmly denied this accolade. We may leave aside Caligula's whimsical threat to banish sundry classics from the libraries, although even this has recently been seen as evincing a serious desire to avoid "invidious comparisons with the leaders of the past."[63] But Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* was certainly banished during his lifetime from both Augustan foundations and from Pollio's library, the latter ironically housed in the same *Atrium Libertatis* which had sheltered the Censors' office.[64] Ovid feared that his *Epistulae ex Ponto* would also suffer the *pudor repulsae* from the imperial libraries because of his continuing disgrace and so be restricted to private holdings.[65] Dutiful relatives of the disgraced might, as in the case of Cremutius Cordus, manage to restore their ejected works in later years.[66] But the object lesson would remain before the eyes of current writers.

Seen in this light, the workings of the imperial libraries may be said

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ing, and staffing for the Augustan foundations presumably depended upon the Emperor's personal funds. For the *servi publici* who worked in the libraries under imperial procurators, see, e.g., *CIL* 6.2347–2349. Cf. Dziatzko, *RE* 3 (above, note 2) 423; Thompson (above, note 6) 86, 118. It is significant that Augustus held Senate meetings and conducted judicial business in his Palatine library (Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.37.3; Suet. *Aug.* 29).

[60]For the obvious precedent in the prestige motives of the Ptolemaic foundation, see Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 7, *Praef.* 4. For Domitian, see Suet. *Dom.* 20. The Emperors extended their patronage to the Alexandrian library (Strabo 17.1.8), which descended to sad depths of sycophancy by adding its "Claudian wing" and staging relay-recitations of Claudius' interminable histories (Suet. *Claud.* 42).

[61]Suet. *Iul.* 56 *ad fin.*

[62]For Vergil and Livy see Suet. *Gai.* 34.2. For the servility shown to the Palatine holdings by some literary aspirants, see Horace, *Epist.* 1.3.15 f.

[63]Suet. *Gai.* 34.2. Cf. R. A. Bauman, *Impietas in Principem* (Munich 1974) 136.

[64]Ovid, *Trist.* 3.1.65 f.

[65]*Ex Ponto* 1.1.5 f.

[66]Seneca, *Ad Marc.* 1.3, *ac restituisti in publica monumenta libros quos vir ille fortissimus sanguine suo scripserat.*

to have amounted to an oblique form of censorship. Approved and admitted authors received, as part of the trappings of repute, the coveted honour of a bust on display in the reading-rooms. Varro is the only author known to have achieved this distinction during his lifetime, but the Emperor had ultimate control over the grant of even this reward.[67] The honours paid in A.D. 19 to the dead Germanicus included a medallion bust in the Palatine library. But the proposal was not implemented before the plans for the bust had, perhaps symbolically, been scaled down by Tiberius himself.[68] When that same Emperor personally placed busts of his favourite Greek poets in the libraries his action was enough to stimulate the composition of commentaries on these authors which were dedicated to him.[69] In sharp contrast, books considered subversive could suffer a fate more publicly humiliating than expulsion from the libraries and undergo the further condemnation of being burnt by triumvirs or aediles in the Forum. Under Domitian, copyists who duplicated treasonable works were even crucified.[70] The hapless victims of such imperial vengefulness would draw little comfort from the precedent of the burning of Protagoras' books in the Agora.[71] Nor would it be immediately reassuring to reflect that such treatment, as Tacitus wryly notes in the cases of Cremutius Cordus and Fabricius Veiento, usually proved counterproductive and actually increased covert readership. In any case, such

[67]For busts in imperial libraries, see Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.37. For Varro's bust, placed in Pollio's library in his own lifetime, see Pliny, *HN* 7.30.115. See Horace, *Serm.* 1.4.21 for a possible attempt by one Fannius to get books and a bust admitted to the imperial library by a gift. But A. Kiessling–R. Heinze, *Q. Horatius Flaccus Satiren* (Berlin 1961) 73, cast doubt on this interpretation. Cf. Friedländer (above, note 6) 4.646; N. Rudd, *The Satires of Horace* (Cambridge 1966) 132. In the period of Sidonius (*Ep.* 9.16) a bust in Trajan's *bibliotheca Ulpiana* is still a proud boast for a writer. For bust collecting in private libraries, almost amounting to a cult practice, see, e.g., Pliny, *Ep.* 1.16.8; 3.7.8; 4.28.1; 8.18.11; Cicero, *Att.* 4.10.1. Ovid, *Tristia* 1.7 *init.*, warns his friends to remove wreaths and decorations from their library-busts of himself.

[68]Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.83.

[69]Suet. *Tib.* 70.

[70]For crucifixion of copyists, see Suet. *Dom.* 10.1; Quint. *Inst. Or.* 9.2.65. For book-burnings, see, e.g., Tacitus, *Agr.* 2.1; *Ann.* 4.35; 14.50; Pliny, *Ep.* 7.19.6; Suet. *Aug.* 31; *Tib.* 61.3; *Gai.* 16. Cf. Birt (above, note 2) 367 → C. A. Forbes, "Books for the Burning," *TAPA* 67 (1936) 114–125; F. H. Cramer, "Bookburning and Censorship in Ancient Rome: a Chapter from the History of Freedom of Speech," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 6 (1945) 157–196. Ironically, Caligula burnt court-records in the forum to symbolize a new era of liberty (Suet. *Gai.* 15.4). Bauman (above, note 63) 47 note 111, rejects Cassius Dio's statement (56.27.1, 4) that Augustus directly issued bookburning decrees and maintains that *senatusconsulta* officially sanctioned these acts.

[71]Diog. Laert. 9.52. For possible precedents for book-burning in early magical practice, see G. W. Clarke, "The Burning of Books and Catullus 36," *Latomus* 27 (1968) 575–580. Cf. Bauman (above, note 63) 31 note 42.

"underground" popularity tended to lapse with the notoriety which had stimulated it.[72]

By the end of the first century of our era, the number of authors to be consulted in the common store of literature was enormous and ever growing. The importance of finding access to sizable collections of books could only increase.[73] This is a factor which tends to be taken for granted or not considered at all in studies of creative writing at Rome, but I hope to have shown that the condition of his library resources could nourish, starve, or perhaps even poison the work of the Latin writer.

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[72] *Ann.* 4.35; 14.50.2. Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 61.3. Cordus' work was republished with Caligula's permission (Suet. *Gai.* 16.1) but Quintilian's copy was nevertheless expurgated (*Inst. Or.* 10.1.104). Cf. Bauman (above, note 63) 99 f.

[73] See the extensive list of Greek and Latin authors cited as Pliny's sources in *HN* 1.